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ABSTRACT

For decades, there has been considerable interest in understanding how attitudes toward other nations and cultures are formed and how people differ in their knowledge and attitudes toward global issues. However, the available research on the topic is sparse and disconnected. This paper suggests a model for looking at the research and presents results from two projects which combine qualitative and quantitative measures to examine knowledge of global issues, international attitudes, and skills of negotiation among secondary school students. The model centers on the young person as an individual and pays special attention to the influences of school and family. These three units are shown within a larger cultural/community context which may be thought of as setting the boundaries within which the family and the school exert their influences. (APG)

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QUALITATAIVE AND QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH ON THE KNOWLEDGE OF GLOBAL ISSUES, INTERNATIONAL ATTITUDES, AND SKILLS OF NEGOTIATION AMONG SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS

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QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH ON THE KNOWLEDGE OF GLOBAL ISSUES, INTERNATIONAL ATTITUDES, AND SKILLS OF NEGOTIATION AMONG SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS

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2. Items quoted in the text from the MSCIS questionnaire are not to be used without the written permission of the author.

Although there has been considerable interest for many years in understanding how attitudes toward other nations are formed and what differences exist among young people in their knowledge of global issues, the research is not plentiful and much of it is disconnected. This paper will suggest a model for looking at this research and will present results from two projects which have combined qualitative and quantitative measures to examine knowledge of global issues, international attitudes and skills of negotiation among secondary school students.

The model sketched out in Figure 1 centers on the young person as an individual and pays special attention to the influences of the school and the family. These three units are shown within a larger cultural/community context, which may be thought of as setting the boundaries within which the family and the school exert their influences. The parameters set by the political structure and culture include definitions of the nation and its interests, designations of the nation's allies and enemies, the institutions and values of the government and the institutions and values of the economic system. This figure bears some similarity to attempts to delineate an "ecological model" for individual development taking account of community and cultural influences by psychologists such as Bronfenbrenner and Crouter (1983). Although for simplicity the figure is drawn in a functionalist form, with the young person at the center as the recipient of influence, it could be "turned inside out" in a fashion which would depict other types of influence. The purpose

of including this figure is to systematize this review of research and to highlight the specific contribution of qualitative research.

Within the triangle representing school in the figure, three types of influences are considered -- those relating to the content of in-class curriculum, those relating to processes of classroom interaction, and those relating to out-of-class or extra-curricular activities. Within the triangle representing the family, some of the characteristics which would be specified (if there were space in the figure) are social class, liberal/conservative ideology, ethnic identity, and the presence of stimuli for promoting within-in family discussion of international issues (especially the availability of newspapers). Within the square representing the individual two types of characteristics would be appropriate to include -- those which are likely to be related to age, especially cognitive development, and other characteristics which differ between individuals regardless of age. In some sense the divisions are arbitrary, but they do focus attention on some important variables which have been dealt with in research and some which have not. With this model in mind, let us review several types of research conducted primarily with survey or structured interview methodology.

Research Describing Basic Characteristics of Students' International Knowledge and Attitudes:

One of the earliest pieces of research on international attitudes was that of Lambert and Klineberg (1967) who conducted an interview study of children's attitudes toward foreign peoples more than twenty-five years ago. This study established, among other things, that young people make clear distinctions between individuals in some other countries who are seen as similar to themselves and others who are seen as different. These distinctions reflect the kinds of cultural/community factors identified in the model.

More recently, a reanalysis of some of the questions included in the IEA survey of civic knowledge and attitudes indicated that adolescents in the United States were considerably more knowledgeable about domestic political institutions and processes than about international issues when compared to students in eight other countries (Torney, 1977). This was attributed in part to cultural factors (e.g., importance of international trade in the economic system) and to the school curriculum. The general analysis of the IEA civic education data also gives important information about the influence of classroom processes (Torney, Oppenheim, and Farnen, 1975). Scores on knowledge and on democratic values were higher for students who reported that their classrooms were characterized by teachers' respect for the attitudes of their students and encouragement for expresssion of

those attitudes.

A large-scale survey of knowledge and attitudes regarding persons in other countries was conducted in the mid-1970's by ETS on a national probability sample of 4th, 8th and 12th grade students (Pike & Barrows, 1979). A major purpose of this study was to describe the differences students see between countries and to plot increases in knowledge over these grade levels (which were tied by inference but not directly to cogntive processing ability and to the content of classroom instruction, as well as to cultural definitions).

This study was followed by another conducted by ETS under contract, the survey of global awareness in college students (Barrows, et. al., 1981). The instrument was constructed by a committee of scholars in disciplines such as world history, international economics, and international relations using a model for topic coverage to represent different historical periods and different geographic areas. The final test of 101 items provided a total score which had adequate reliability and was useful in making an estimate of the level of knowledge and attitudes about international matters in a sample of 3000 freshmen and seniors in four year institutions and students in two-year colleges. In addition, items were chosen from previous scales or developed to assess a series of attitudes including National Chauvinism, International Cooperation, and Concern for Global Problems. In a study such as this where there are many measures of student characteristics and several scales measuring

outcomes, regression analysis can be very helpful in assessing the independent influence of different aspects of school and individual factors. For example, a series of regression analyses demonstrated that reading the international news in the newspaper predicted high scores on both knowledge and concern; taking courses in geography and in history were also positive predictors of knowledge (Torney-Purta, 1982). This analysis included variables from the model's units of the school, of the family (at least indirectly) and of the individual young person. The Cogan paper included in this session reports results from the administration of the ETS questionnaire in Japan and thus gives some suggestions about cultural parameters.

Research Assessing the General Effectiveness of Programs in International Studies:

About two years after the administration of the ETS Survey of Global Awareness, twenty-eight of the easier items were chosen from the knowledge test and administered along with the 10-item global concern scale to approximately 1500 secondary schools students in nine states (Torney-Purta, 1984). The purpose was to ascertain whether students who had taken global education courses or participated in special programs on this topic had higher levels of global awareness (knowledge) or global concern (attitude). A further aim was to identify the variables in individual and the school which predicted higher levels of knowledge and concern at the secondary level.

Because it was not possible to collect observational data in these schools spread across the country, it was necessary to rely on the descriptions of the programs provided by school personnel. An analysis of co-variance showed that some but not all of the global education programs succeeded in enhancing the knowledge and concern for global issues of their participants. Particularly successful were programs designed for highly selected groups of very able students in some schools and a program organized in several districts which had been in existence for a number of years including extensive teacher training in teaching international relations to diverse groups. Students in global education programs which had been in existence for a short time, those which used quite traditional approaches to world history, and those which focussed on a single world area were not especially successful when compared to students who had not received special global education experience. Participating in extra-curricular activities was also a predictor of global awareness and concern. This study focussed primarily on the school unit of the model, with some individual characteristic noted. It was limited, however, by having only survey information.

All the projects described have relied on quantitative approaches to measuring knowledge, attitudes, and skills. The two projects to be covered in more depth have used quantitative techniques, but have supplemented them with qualitative measures and analysis.

Research using Qualitative Methods to Supplement Quantitive Data in Understanding Levels of International Knowledge and Attitudes:

The Stanford in the Schools, American Schools in the World project will be described first because it employs the questionnaire design of the projects discussed above augmented by attention to processes within clasrooms using observations and teacher interviews. As part of a large cooperative project between Stanford University and a group of Bay Area schools, a questionnaire, teacher interviews, and intensive classroom observations were conducted. Knowledge subscales on international economics and on international conflict/war were constructed and included in a questionnaire survey along with some of the attitudinal scales from the ETS instrument. Respondents were approximately nine-hundred students in two separate samples, one which only took the questionnaire and another in which questionnaire data was supplemented by collection of data by teacher interview and observation. An interesting characteristic of the sample is that there are a relatively large proportion of students who were not born in the U.S.

Regression analysis using a format similar to that previous described for the high school questionnaire was conducted. Many of the predictors of both the score on knowledge of economics and

knowledge of war and conflict were the same as in the previous study -- e.g., reading the international news in the newspaper, grade point average. Of particular interest in the focus on classroom process is the fact that students' perceptions of freedom to disagree in class with the opinion expressed by teachers was a predictor of knowledge on both subscales (even after the educational level of the students' home had been controlled). An open classroom climate in which free discussion is fostered seems to make a vital contribution to acquiring knowledge of international topics.

This project also interviewed teachers and collected observational data resulting in case studies of several classrooms, thus combining qualitative and quantitative approaches. Similar inferences about the importance of the climate for discussion in the classroom can be drawn from these data. The classrooms differed considerably on the type of questioning used (e.g., convergent seeking a single right answer or divergent seeking to stimulate expression of differing opinions). For example, one teacher consistently used convergent questions which called for a "right answer" and which were not closely connected to each other. There was little effort to challenge students to think of ramifications beyond the single right answer, little chance to challenge the teacher as the controller of information, and little interaction between students. When such challenges or interaction did take place, they were either ignored or treated as a class disruption.

Another teacher tended toward a convergent questioning style in some class periods but defined other periods in which students were encouraged to prepare to take different sides in a debate of different controversial issues. The observers described this class as controlled and respectful of each other and of ways of dealing with divergent information. Still another teacher consciously attempted to cultivate a diversity of expression of opinion in the large majority of class sessions. Video tapes from new broadcasts were often shown and students were encouraged to state opinions and critically examine them. (See Torney-Purta & Landsdale, 1986 for details of these analyses.) This combination of quantitative and qualitative data is a first attempt to understand within classroom processes in greater depth than the quantitative approach can provide.

Qualitative and Quantitative Research Assessing the Effectiveness of Specific International Studies Program Approaches:

A recent evaluation of the Maryland Summer Center for International Studies has also combined quantitative (questionnaire) with qualitative (observational) methods. The curriculum of the 1985 center involved a collaboration between the University of Maryland and the Maryland State Department of Education. The major component of the curriculum was a computer-assisted simulation based on a foreign policy scenario developed by Jonathan Wilkenfeld and Richard Brecht, members of the faculty at the University of Maryland. In this simulation

secondary school students as representatives of five country teams (France, Japan, Mexico, Nigeria, and the USSR) participated in simulated international negotiations utilizing computer conferencing; other major components of the curriculum included lectures on topics relevant to the simulation, an international futures simulation exercise, and visits to embassies in Washington, D.C. The Center was conducted in two two-week sessions with approximately thirty students per session. The fifty-nine students, who filled out a questionnaire before the session began and again two days before the end of the session, were about equally divided between males and females (46% and 54% respectively); more than ninety percent were born in the U.S. The average student in the first session was entering the eleventh grade; the average student in the second session was entering the ninth grade.

A trained observer conducted more than one hundred 10-15 minute observations of meetings of country teams using a form developed by the evaluator on which quotes from students could be recorded along with ratings of interaction. Teams were observed in random order during each period when either a team meeting or an on-line conference was underway. These qualitative data are covered more fully in the paper presented in this session by Kathleen Gorman and will be referred to as they relate to specific points made from the quantitative date.

Although the situation was not entirely analagous to a class (since the groups were composed of six students each and had

group leaders who kept much lower profiles than teachers would have), a great deal about in-class processes can nevertheless be inferred.

From the survey instrument it was clear that the students felt they learned a great deal from this concentrated two-week experience. Eighty-four percent reported that they learned more during MSCIS than they usually learned during a semester of social studies instruction in school. Eighty-two percent reported that as a result of MSCIS they were more likely to consider an international career. Ninety-five percent or more of the students reported that their attitudes toward the foreign policy of the U.S., toward other developed countries, and toward developing countries were influenced by the experience. Attitudes toward nuclear proliferation were influenced for eighty-eight percent. Ninety-five percent reported that they could better understand international news because of the experience, and eighty-four percent reported that they became more interested in reading international news. These figures suggest that for nearly all the students the experience was an extraordinarily positive one which enhanced their interest in international relations.

A list of twenty specific topics was given to students in the post-test to be rated on a four-point scale according to how much the students felt they had learned about each (Table 1). The highest mean rating, representing nearly ninety-five percent of the students who felt they had "learned a lot," was given to "the

complexity of foreign policy making." More than seventy percent of the students felt they learned alot about "differences among nations in negotiating styles," "how a country's location and natural resources influence its foreign policy," "economic issues involved in foreign policy," "the problems of developing countries," and "the importance of choosing the right word in diplomatic communication." These learning outcomes were all highly salient to the objectives of the center in general and the simulation in particular. The observational material confirmed that the students adjusted their negotiating style to match both the country they represented and the country to which they were communicating. Attention to the economic dimension of issues was frequently noted in the observations, as were debates about the choice of the right word or phrase to communicate nuances of meaning.

Table 1 also indicates how the organization of the simulation influences what is learned. Out of nineteen topics, the nine top rated outcomes have to do with issues and processes relating to the making of foreign policy in general. Ratings for learning about the foreign policy of specific countries are in tenth place (the U.S.), thirteenth through sixteenth place (the USSR, Japan, France, and Nigeria), and eighteenth place (Mexico). These data are best interpreted in light of some correlational information. There were high correlations between being on the team of a given country and giving a high rating to what was learned about the foreign policy of that country. The correlation between being on

the Soviet team and learning about the USSR was .54, between being on the Japanese team and learning about Japan .48, and similarly for France .57, for Mexico .60, and for Nigeria .59. Being on the Soviet team was also correlated .25 with learning about the foreign policy of the U.S. Although the country team on which one plays is not related to what one learns about foreign policy processes in general, it is the major determinant of which country's foreign policy one learns about. If the means in Table 1 were separately computed by team, the item mean dealing with the foreign policy of a specific country would be higher than several of the general foreign policy items for that team only.

The differences between first and second session in the ratings of learning outcomes in Table 1 are of interest. On-site observations of teams and the impressions of the staff indicated that the second session (of younger students) was less involved in the substance of the simulation. The between-session differences in questionnaire responses, however, were not especially large. However, the older group did rate the more subtle aspects of learning about foreign policy at a somewhat higher level -- e.g. differences among nations in negotiating style, the importance of using the right word in communication, connections between global problems, and the process of examining a possible message critically to see if it would help a country's international position. In the case of differences in negotiation style and connections between global problems, the between-session differences were statistically significant at the

..05 level. The examination of the observational data leads to a similar conclusion. When faced with a message requiring a response the older students would debate various versions of their response according to how they fit with stated policy and various wordings; the younger students were much more likely to send the first message which was suggested with little concern for its policy implications or wording.

Attitudes Toward Foreign Policy and Global Issues:

The questionnaire administered before and after the simulation included twenty-six items measuring attitudes toward foreign policy and global issues. These items had previously been used as part of an evaluation of the computer-assisted international simulation as it is conducted with university students on the University of Maryland campus and at several other campuses in the U.S. and abroad. Items to which large numbers of college students had responded "Indifferent" and items with extreme answer patterns were not included in the MSCIS questionnaire. The items included on the questionnaire include a few from the research conducted by others, but the large majority were written for the college-level international simulation project.

The twenty items administered to the high school students were factor analyzed (and a parallel analysis conducted for the college student sample). The factor structures were similar for the college and high school groups. The following scales were constructed based on these analyses.

The items in the National Chauvinism scale are the following:

> 1. The United States may not be perfect, but it is about as close as human beings can get to a perfect society; 2. The best way to insure peace is for the United States to be stronger than any other nation in the world; 3. The United States should be free to intervene militarily in other countries to protect our national interest.

The alpha reliability for this scale is .74. There was a tendency for students to disagree with these items. As Table 2 shows there was a small and statistically significant decline from pre- to post-test in this score. The declines in agreement were particularly pronounced in the second and third items. Students were more likely to see unilateral military power as counterproductive after the simulation.

Another scale, which also has some characteristics in common with the scales above (and correlates with it) is called Perceptions of the World Divided into U.S. Allies and Enemies:

> 1. Most criticism of our country comes from our enemies or countries aligned with them; 2. There are two kinds of people in the world, those who are for what the U.S. stands for and those who are against us; 3. The U.S. should not participate in any international organization which requires that we give up any of our national interests; 4. The most important thing to know about another country is whether its government is more sympathetic to the U.S. or the USSR; 5. A

major aim of U.S. foreign policy should be to keep leaders of other countries in power as long as they are friendly to us.

The alpha reliability for this scale is .600. The majority of students also disagreed with these items (especially with second item). This scale as a whole and the items on it change very little when pre and post test are compared (Table 2).

In summary, one of the two of the scales measuring students' assessment of the power of the U.S. and its role as a superpower change statistically from pre- to post-test in the direction of what might be called a more balanced view of the international system. The general impression gained from the observations is similar -- that some students decreased moderately in their readiness to express nationally chauvistic attitudes.

A set of three items measured students' belief in the Importance of Rationality and Moderation in Foreign Policy:

1. Most foreign policy decision are made by a rational process; 2. Changes in international relations have to be made gradually; 3. Generally speaking, in international controversies extreme positions should be avoided in favor of something in the middle.

The alpha reliability for this scale is .356 (a low reliability). Slightly more than half of the students agreed with these items. As Table 2 shows, there was a slight decline

in agreement with these items. This is in contrast to the college student group, where scores on this scale tend to increase from pre- to post-test. Observations confirm that the faster pace of the summer program, conducted in two weeks rather than six weeks, does little to demonstrate the value of moderation to participants.

A two-item scale deals with the Importance of Alliances:

> 1. Strong alliances are necessary for a country's survival in the world today; 2. The most important principle of international relations is to maintain strong alliances.

The alpha reliability of these items is .531. Most students agreed with these items, and there was no pre-post difference. The simulation does not appear to influence the perception of alliances in general. Analysis of a another part of the questionnaire will demonstrate that students do change in their perception of alliances with respect to particular countries.

Support for International Cooperation was assessed using three items:

> 1. An international authority should be established and given direct control over the production of nuclear energy in all countries of the world; 2. Citizens should consider the impact foreign policy decisions might have on less powerful and poorer countries before deciding whether to support those decisions; 3. One of the biggest obstacles to

economic development is that the industrialized countries have too much control over the world economy.

The alpha reliablity of this scale is .465. The majority of students agreed with these items. As Table 2 shows, there is a statistically significant increase in support for international cooperation from pre- to post- test. This is especially pronounced in the first and third items. The simulation experience appears to be especially effective in influencing students' attitudes about nuclear proliferation and about economic development, two of the scenario's major themes. The correlation between pre- and post-test scores on Support for International Cooperation is also low. This suggests that a change in attitudes takes place among some students, while others' attitudes remain relatively constant. It may be that the students on the teams of developing countries are especially likely to experience attitude change, a possibility which is confirmed by the observational analysis.

Ratings of Foreign Policy Making in Other Countries:

The pre- and post-test questionnaires contained four questions about foreign policy making which the students were to answer with respect to each of the five countries in the scenario and also with respect to the U.S.

The large majority of students believed foreign policy to be basically rational. Rationality was thought to be especially characteristic of Japanese foreign policy; not only was Japan's

rating the highest among the six countries, but its rating also increased significantly from pre- to post-test. (Figure 2) Foreign policy making in the U.S. and France was seen as somewhat more rational than foreign policy making in the other three countries -- the Soviet Union, Nigeria, and Mexico. There was little change from pre- to post-test in these ratings, except for a small but significant increase in perceived rationality of foreign policy for Mexico. The students who had played on the Soviet team rated its foreign policy as more rational on the post-test. There was no other significant relationship between team played and this scale.

The ratings of the responsiveness of foreign policy to allies were very substantially influenced by the simulation experience (Figure 3). Although there was no significant change in the rating for the U.S., all of the other country ratings showed significant changes. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union, Japan, Nigeria and Mexico was seen to be significantly more responsive to allies after the simulation, while the foreign policy of France was seen to be less responsive. Before the simulation the country most responsive to allies was the U.S., followed by France, Japan, Nigeria, Mexico and the Soviets. After the simulation, Mexico was the most responsive (perhaps reflecting heightened awareness of the importance of the U.S. as an ally). Mexico was followed by Japan, the U.S., Nigeria, the Soviets and France (in last place). The aloofness and arrogance of the French team is documented in the observations, and

apparently led to this substantially lower rating. The issue of how to make a message responsive to the expected reactions of allies very frequently occupied the students' attention.

In rating the responsiveness of foreign-policy making to developing countries, post-test scores were significantly higher than pre-test ratings for all countries except the United States (Figure 3). Nigeria and Mexico, the developing countries in the simulation, were clearly the most responsive to development issues; Japan, France and the U.S. were moderately responsive, with the Soviets the least responsive. Students who had been on the French team and on the Japanese team gave their respective countries significantly higher ratings for responsiveness to developing countries on the post-test than did those on other teams. This confirms the observations showing considerable discussion of developing countries' needs by students on these teams. Students who had been on the Nigerian team gave the Mexicans significantly lower ratings on responsiveness to developing countries than did the other teams; this confirms observations of the Nigerian team's belief that Mexico was not giving adequate support to the coalition of Third World Countries which Nigeria initiated.

Attitudes toward the responsiveness of foreign policy to big business were not significantly different between pre and post test for any country.

In summary, attitudes toward foreign-policy making were most

likely to change on dimensions which were directly involved in the scenario (e.g., relations with allies and with developing countries). Attitudes toward the country on whose team one is playing and toward other countries with which one's country has sustained communication on an issue are especially likely to be influenced. The stability of ratings of foreign policy in the U.S. on pre- and post-test are striking, suggesting that this simulation has more of an impact upon attitudes toward a specific country's policy than upon the generalized view of the international system.

This piece of research, presented at some length, has concentrated on student-to-student interaction (similar to that which takes place in classrooms) and has taken explicit account of some parameters of the national political culture (e.g., U.S. military strength, definitions of allies and enemies). A major strength of this research has been the extent to which qualitative and quantitative measures have been combined.

Conclusion:

How does the sugggested model fare when existing research is examined? Most of the work has focussed on school related influences, with some attention to individual differences. Family influence has been only indirectly examined (usually as a control variable). National political culture has played a role primarily as a boundary setting parameter. Some of the more recent research on school-related effects has approached the

interplay of content and process variables more effectively by combining qualitative and quantitative information. A critical approach to the underlying processes and values is still missing from this area, however.

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Table 1

Mean Ratings of What Was Learned about Specific Topics During MSCIS: N = 59; 4 = I learned a lot)

The complexity of foreign policy making.	3.95
Differences among nations in negotiating style.	3.72**
How a country's location and natural resources influence its foreign policy.	3.70
Economic issues involved in foreign policy.	3.70
The problems of developing countries.	3.70
The importance of choosing the right word in diplomatic communication.	3.67
Nuclear proliferation issues in foreign policy.	3.61
How to critically examine a possible message to see if it would help our country's international position.	3.54
How to communicate with other teams who had different perspectives about foreign policy.	3.54
The foreign policy of the United States.	3.42
Connections between global problems.	3.42**
How to make decisions under time presssure.	3.39
The foreign policy of the USSR.	3.19
The foreign policy of Japan	3.19
The foreign policy of France	3.16
The foreign policy of Nigeria	3.14
How to write like a diplomat.	3.02
The foreign policy of Mexico	2.97
International organizations and how they function.	2.93

**On these items the first session students' mean ratings were significantly higher than the second session's ratings (p. 05)

Table 2

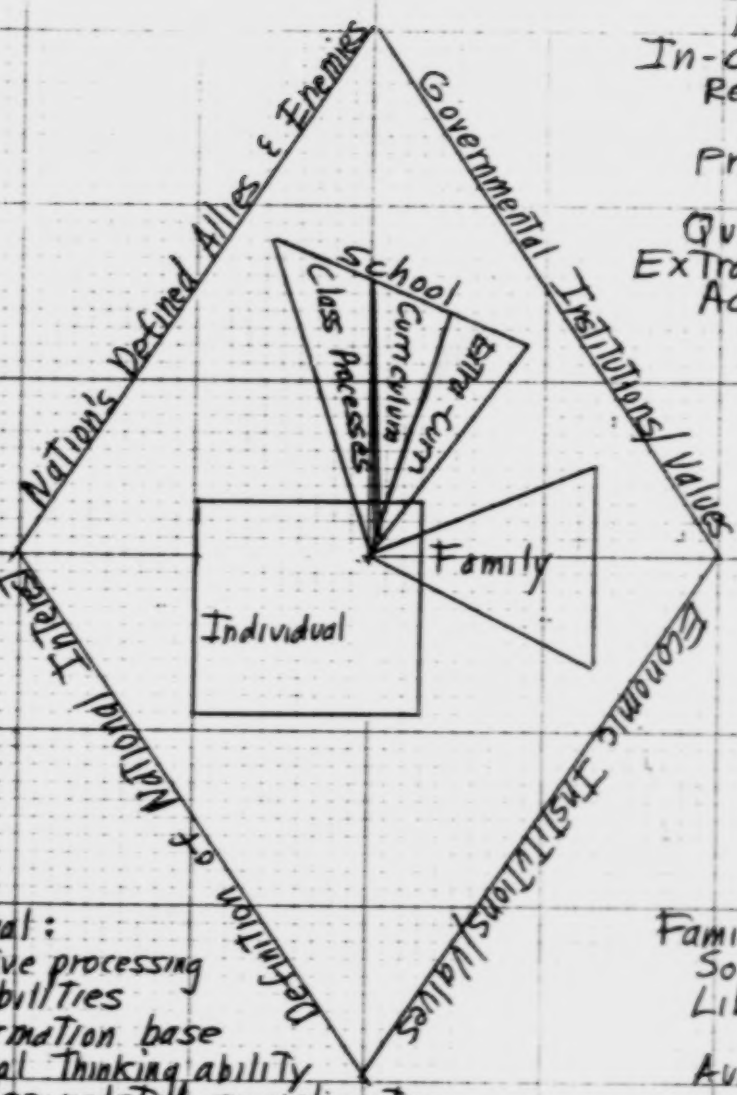
Mean Attitude Scale Scores Pre- and Post-Simulation:
N = 59; 5 = Strongly agree; 1 = Strongly disagree)

	Pre-Score	Post-Score	Pre-Post Correlation	t diff.
National Chauvinism (3 items)	2.19	2.02	.76	2.32*
Perceptions of World Divided into U.S. Allies and Enemies (5)	2.28	2.25	.69	non-sign
Importance of Rationality and Modration in Policy (3)	3.66	3.56	.54	non-sign
Importance of Alliances (2)	3.69	3.68	.63	non-sign
Support for International Cooperation (3)	3.71	4.03	.14	3.08**

* t test for differences between means of matched samples significant at .05 level.

** t test for difference between means of matched samples significant at the .01 level.

Figure 1
Model

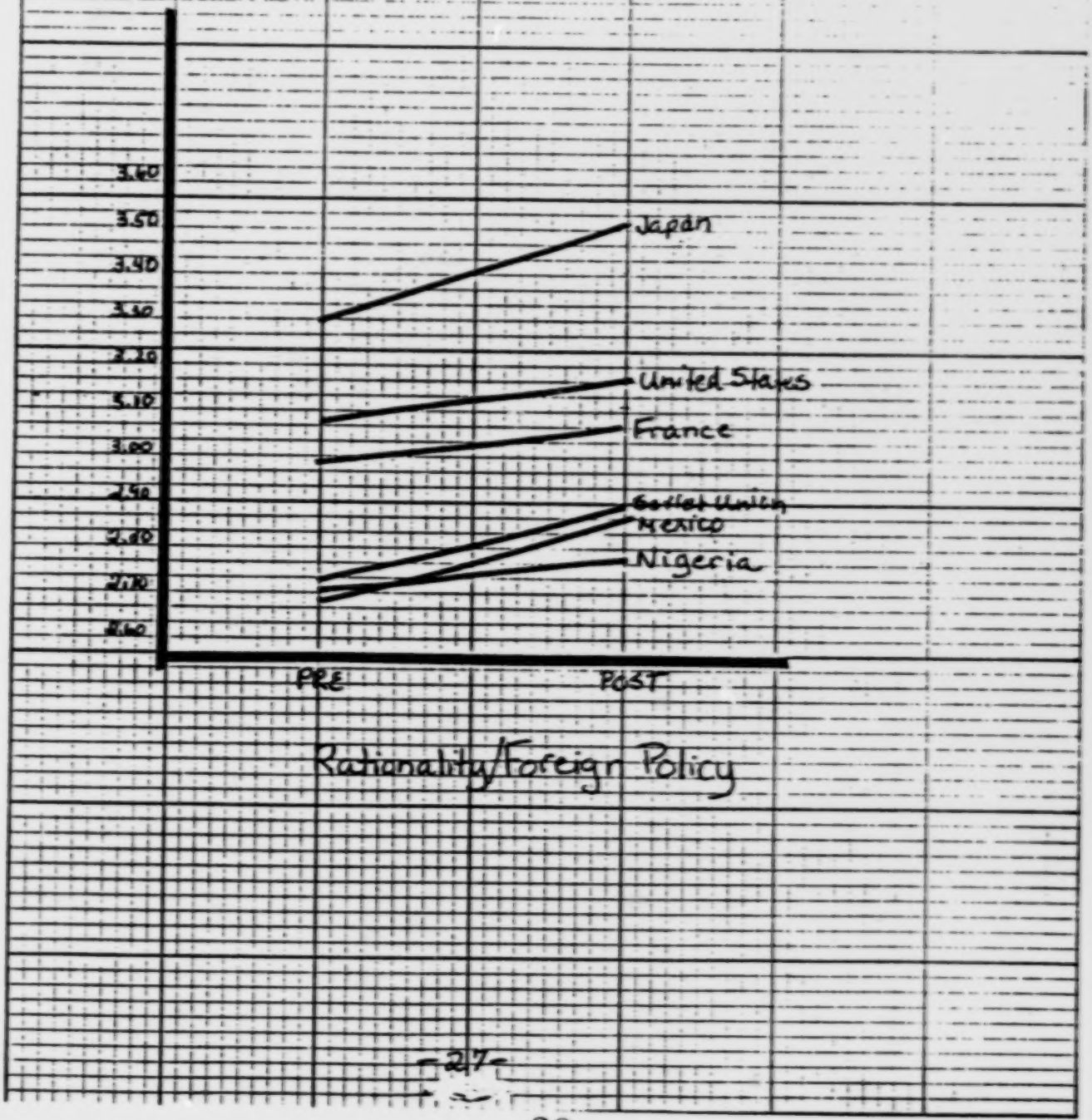


School:
Curriculum
(especially history, social studies, language)
In-class Processes
Respect for students' opinions
Freedom to disagree with Teacher
Questioning style
Extra-Curricular Activities (Interntl)

Individual:
Cognitive processing abilities
Information base
Critical Thinking ability
Gender-related socialization.
Perspective-Taking skills - empathy
Personal values relating to nationalism/power/democracy
Interest in international events
Interpersonal Negotiating skills

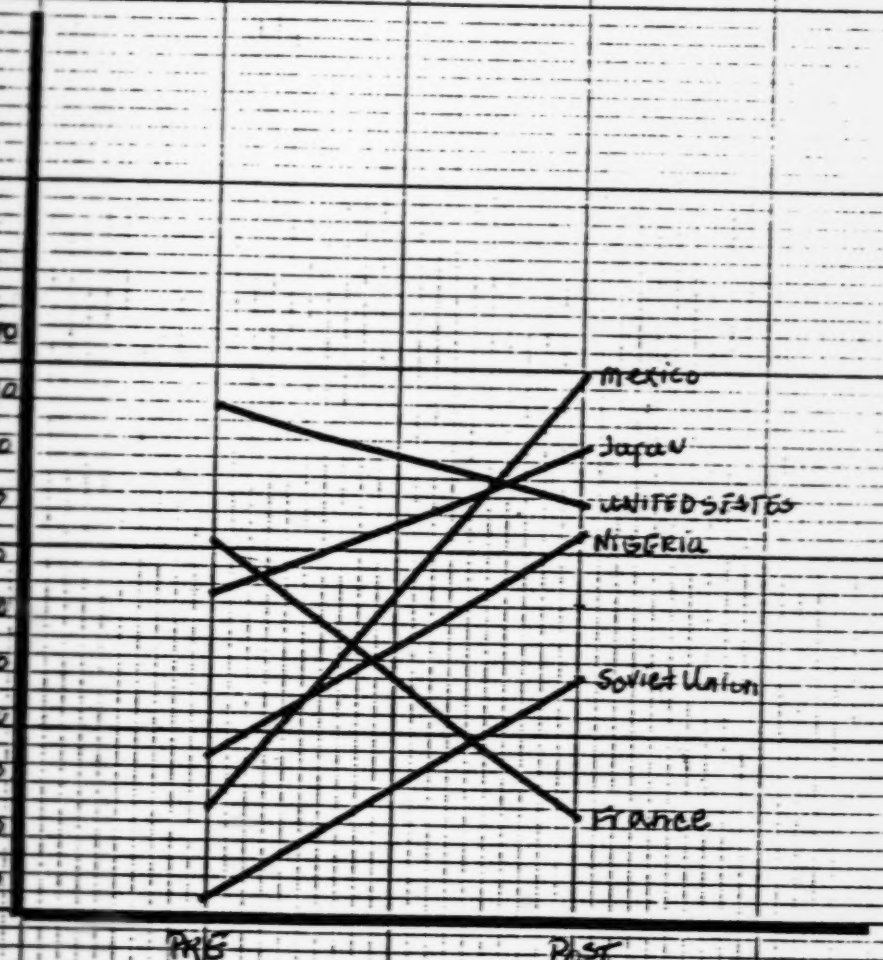
Family:
Social class/educ.
Liberal/conservative ideology
Availability of newspapers
Ethnic background

Figure 2


3.60
3.50
3.40
3.30
3.20
3.10
3.00
2.90
2.80
2.70
2.60
Japan
United States
France
Soviet Union
Mexico
Nigeria
PRE
POST
Rationality/Foreign Policy

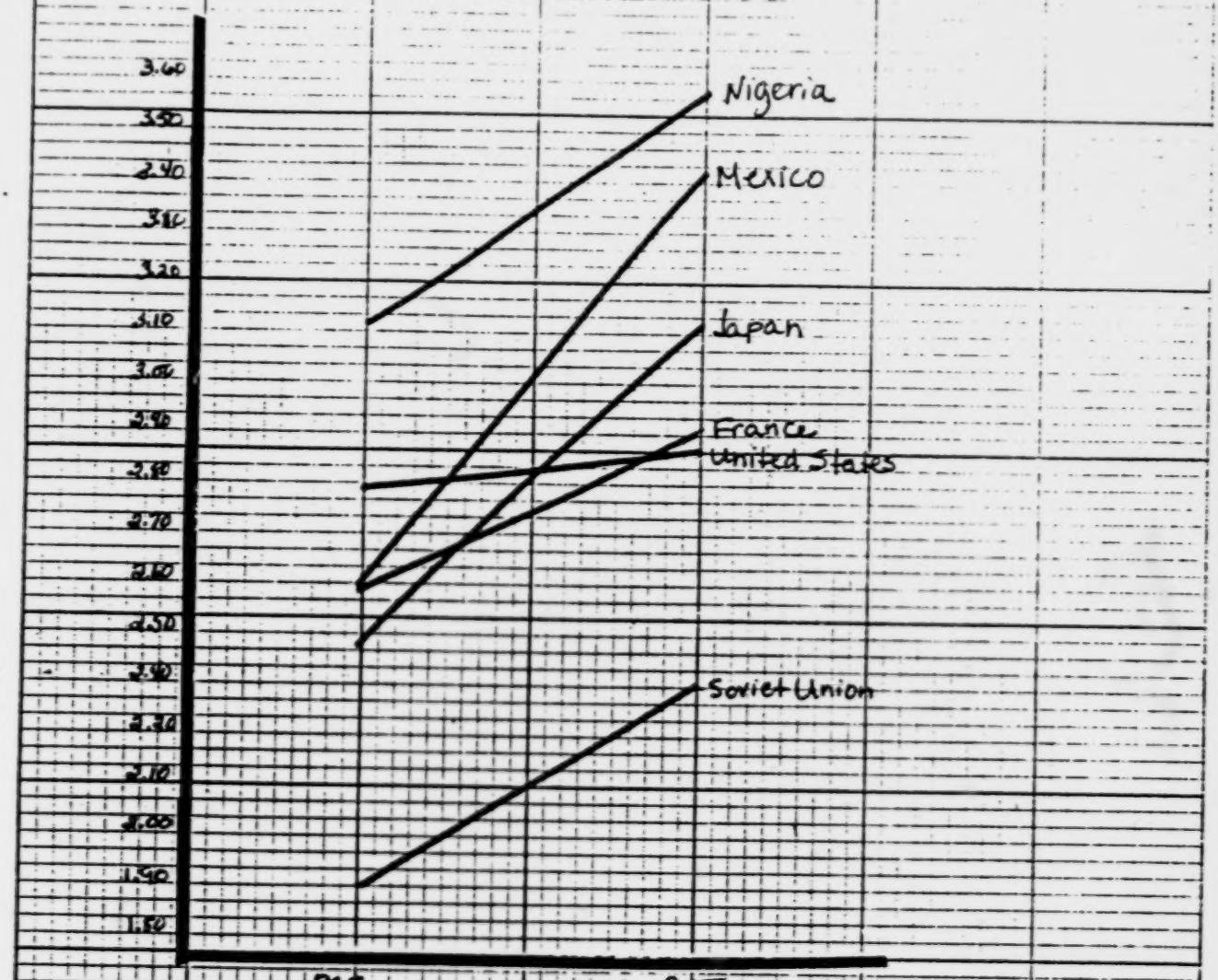
-27-

Figure 3



Foreign Policy Responsive to Allies

Figure 4



Foreign Policy
Responsive to Developing Countries